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*CIA/ONE/STAFF MEMO/15-61-5-61*  
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27 February 1961

NOTE TO THE BOARD

The Quadros speech discussed in this memorandum is one of several subjects the Director asked us to look into. Owing to the delay in getting a full copy of the speech and to the sidetracking of this project in favor of more urgent ones, the memorandum is not as timely as we would wish. With a full-scale estimate of Brazil slated for completion in April, it might be best to just drop the whole subject until then. However, we still regard the speech as an important piece of evidence that Quadros, while unlikely to hew to the US line on such subjects as Communist China and Cuba, is a man who commands considerable respect and, in any event, expects the US to take him seriously. If there is doubt that this is recognized on the second floor and in other highplaces, we would strongly recommend that the memo be forwarded to the Director.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

27 February 1961

STAFF MEMORANDUM NO. 15-61 (Internal A/NE Working Paper - CIA  
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SUBJECT: The Quadros Speech to the Brazilian Nation

1. Examination of the full text of Janio Quadros' first major speech as president of Brazil, a radio-television address to the nation on 1 February, confirms our initial impression of it as a highly impressive performance that establishes him as a man to be reckoned with. In it he displayed not only a firm determination to put Brazil's affairs in order and to strengthen its international position but also a detailed and realistic grasp of the problems confronting his country.

2. Quadros is an unorthodox and often unpredictable politician who did not outline specific policies. His actual moves will probably continue to depend on his assessment of the circumstances at the time. However, even discounting for this prospect and for the exuberance of ceremonial oratory,

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the 1 February address was obviously intended to set the tone for the new administration and in its earnestness and sobriety conveys a high degree of conviction. In it Quadros appears as a man whose ambitions for bettering the lot of the Brazilian people are tempered by a recognition of the need for fiscal responsibility and whose desires to assert a larger and more independent international role for Brazil are tempered by a sense of its obligations to its fellow American states. Despite his mild campaign flirtation with the Communists (Quadros promised to legalize the party after his inauguration) his speech displays a keen understanding of the Communist problem and a convincing though florid endorsement of the democratic process.

3. Much of the speech was devoted to a somber appraisal of the domestic outlook and to a demand for sacrifice and hard work by all Brazilians in improving the lot of the people. While following up on his campaign denunciations of waste, graft, and nepotism (his favorite electioneering prop was a broom), Quadros laid his heaviest emphasis on a detailed examination of the financial and economic morass Brazil found itself in. Unlike more typical Latin American leaders, he stressed the need for

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the Brazilian people themselves, poor as they were, to pay off their debts and restore the nation's credit -- a statement since followed up by specific proposals for restrictions on government payrolls and other austerity moves.

4. The foreign affairs references in the speech were briefer and often less explicit, but the general impact was generally clear. The stress on Brazil's role as an emerging world power and on its right to be treated as such by other big powers almost certainly foreshadows an attempt to play a more independent role than previous Brazilian governments. The speech's assertion of willingness to deal with all nations without "political or ideological stipulations" and its statement that Brazil's ports are open to all are in line with moves already under way to establish diplomatic relations with Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria, and suggests a readiness to establish at least commercial ties with Communist China.\* His government has since indicated that it will no longer vote against inscription of the motion to admit Communist China to the UN.

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\*Brazil has had formal diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland for sometime.

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5. At the same time, the speech suggested that there are very strong limitations on how far Quadros is likely to move from traditional Brazilian policies. He took pains to reaffirm Brazil's international commitments (the most important of which are, of course, with the OAS) and to extol true nationalism. In extending Brazil's hand to the emerging states of the world, he called on his listeners to understand "their excesses and occasional fanciful acts." Finally, the speech contains, in only slightly disguised terms, a powerful attack on Communism as a force which perverts the ends of social and economic reform. One elequent passage of some length constitutes a perceptive indictment of international Communism's betrayal of the ideals of social justice, noting that "political operators, not even born in these lands", are attempting to arouse hatred in the nations of Latin America. Another passage assails those revolutions which have led only to transfer of power from the old ruling class to the all-embracing clutch of the state -- concluding, in what can only be a reference to Cuba: "In such cases, no small nation, even a sister one, is free to speak of nationalism."

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6. The new Brazilian president's only other reference to Cuba and its sole reference to the US came in an elliptical passage which describes the "fearless and haughty people" of the "disturbed Antilles" as awaiting the advent of new administrations in the US and Brazil with hope of "other" doctrines of cooperation for the entire area. We can only conjecture as to implications of this passage for Quadros' policy about Cuba -- although more recent indications are that Brazil would oppose CAS sanctions against Cuba. However, the passage clearly constitutes an assertion that Brazil has a key role to play in the solution of the Cuban and other hemisphere problems and reinforces our general impression that Quadros expects active US sympathy and support for his attempts to strengthen Brazil at home and to have it play a more active role abroad. The similarity in tone between Quadros' speech and the initial utterances of President Kennedy almost certainly implies a belief by Quadros that he has a special claim to US understanding.

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